



## Communist University Introductions

*These texts may be used as “openings to discussion” of the original reading texts that are supplied by the CU. They are not intended to be authoritative or conclusive. They are contributions to discussion like any other such contributions. The introductions are not a substitute for the reading texts.*

*This is the first of two booklets containing introductions to the CU “Development” course.*

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### Development, Part 6



## New Economic Policy

To read Lenin's writings and speeches on the "New Economic Policy" (NEP) is to discover a process of comprehensive unpacking and assessment, of factors and variables that are quite similar to those in play in South Africa at the present time.

The NEP followed after the "War Communism" that had been in effect during the Civil War in Russia, after the Great October Revolution of 1917. [Picture: Lenin in Red Square, Moscow, 25 May 1919]. The NEP followed on from "the struggle", as it were.

The NEP was not a substitute for big-scale, planned industrial development. Early in today's main document, "The Tax in Kind" (1921) (**attached**), Lenin emphasises:

*"Socialism is inconceivable without large-scale capitalist engineering based on the latest discoveries of modern science. It is inconceivable without planned state organisation which keeps tens of millions of people to the strictest observance of a unified standard in production and distribution... At the same time socialism is inconceivable unless the proletariat is the ruler of the state."*

Later, he sums up:

*"The tax in kind is a transition from War Communism to a regular socialist exchange of products. The extreme ruin rendered more acute by the crop failure in 1920 has made this transition urgently necessary owing to the fact that it was impossible to restore large-scale industry rapidly. Hence, the first thing to do is to improve the condition of the peasants. The means are the tax in kind, the development of exchange between agriculture and industry, and the development of small industry. Exchange is freedom of trade; it is capitalism."*

The whole document is worth reading and re-reading. Note that the actual "tax in kind" is not particularly prominent in the text. The sub-title, "The Significance of the New Policy and its Conditions" is more apt.

The actual "tax in kind" policy meant that peasants in particular had the option to pay tax in the form of produce, not cash, after which they were free to sell any additional produce they had on the open market. The tax in kind was a component within the overall scheme of the NEP, which in total amounted to a revival of small-scale market-capitalist production.

It is clear that what Lenin is doing is ordering priorities and synthesising all of the factors that were in play. There is no crude dichotomy here that would cancel out the small-scale producers in favour of the larger ones. On the contrary, the "development of exchange" between small and large is seen by Lenin as the

“means”, both to improve the condition of the peasants, and to restore large-scale industry rapidly.

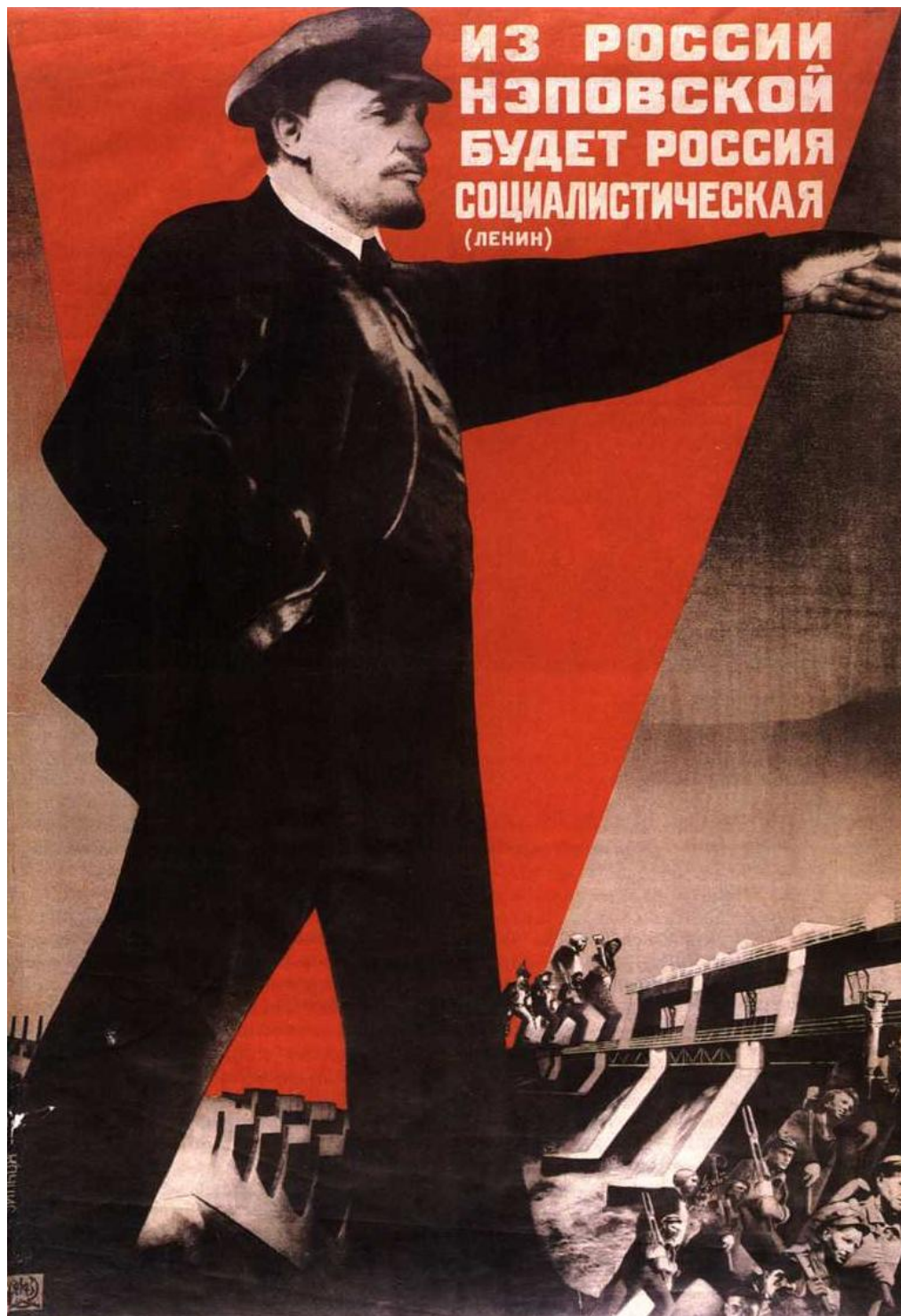
In the Soviet Union, a false dichotomy did subsequently develop between the small and the large, and it may have weakened that country and helped to set it up for the collapse that occurred in the 1990s.

In China, on the contrary, the most scrupulous attention was paid to those peasants and petty-bourgeois who formed the (once-overwhelming and still-existing) majority of the population; but not at the expense of large-scale industrial planning and development. China has survived, and prospered.

Are these things separate? Are they contradictory? Or are they one?

There is in fact no choice. We must have it all: both large and small. We must also recognise the inter-relationship between the small-scale enterprises, that can activate large masses of our people, and the large-scale enterprises, that need the same people as providers of goods and services, and as a market. Industrial Strategy and Rural Development must be a unity.

- **The above is to introduce the original reading-texts: [The Tax in Kind, Lenin, 1921](#).**
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## **From the NEP Russia will come the Socialist Russia!**

The attached short speech to the Moscow Soviet in November 1922 gives more of the background and history of the NEP.

There is so much that is strong from Lenin, and it ranges so widely, that it is difficult to keep in mind that after the October 1917 revolution he only had four years of

relatively good health, and that was interrupted by the assassination attempt of August 1918. During 1922 and 1923 he was mostly ill, and he died in January 1924.

Therefore Lenin's direct leadership of the policy that he, more than any other person, is associated with - namely the New Economic Policy or NEP - only went for about a year from its beginning, which was in March, 1921.

The NEP was abandoned in favour of collectivisation and full central planning in 1928, under the leadership of J V Stalin.



As can be seen in the last paragraph of this speech of Lenin's, he intended "that NEP Russia will become socialist Russia." This phrase is echoed in the translation given on the Internet for the slogan in Russian on the NEP poster (above). The other image is of a peasant produce market held during the NEP.

How the transition to socialism was to take place, or exactly what it meant in Lenin's mind, is a matter of study. We will continue this study with the next of these three items on the NEP.

- The above is to introduce the original reading-texts: [Plenary Session of Moscow Soviet, 1922, Speech re NEP, Lenin.](#)
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## Trade Unions in a NEP-like country

Today's **attached** text by V I Lenin on the "Role and Function of Trade Unions under the NEP" speaks unequivocally of *"the duty of the trade unions to protect the interests of the working people"*, in both private and public enterprises.

We have seen that Lenin was ill from the start of the NEP, then progressively more ill, and finally bedridden and unable to speak for months until his death in January, 1924. If we read the documents we would also have noticed that the Civil War was also continuing until 1922.

Later, the richer, capitalising peasants or "kulaks", who employed others as proletarian workers, were demonised, correctly or not, and the NEP came to an end around 1928. The NEP therefore had a short and constrained life, and consequently,

a limited literature. But ours is not to examine the NEP in great detail. We just want to note that in Lenin's view, this was the correct transitional arrangement, and to see why Lenin thought so.

Large-scale industry was mostly in state hands but small businesses were capitalist. This was not merely expedient. It was necessary. It was the right way, and not a liberal way.

Here in South Africa we do not yet have proletarian state power in the way that the Russian workers obviously had it at the time of Lenin's writing of this text (1922). But in other respects we have a similar set of circumstances. Big-scale industry is either in the hands of monopoly capital or of the state, leaving a very large portion of the population having to fend for itself, as survivalists, entrepreneurs, SMMEs and all the rest of conceptual divisions of the petty-bourgeoisie. These are mostly poor people, and they have to be helped to survive.

But above all in South Africa, just as under the NEP in Russia in the 1920s, the class struggle continues. Lenin is very frank about this. In the end there is not going to be a win-win situation, and there is no win-win along the way, either, but only class struggle with both winners and losers. Here is an example of what Lenin had to say on this score, in this work:

*"As long as classes exist, the class struggle is inevitable. In the period of transition from capitalism to socialism the existence of classes is inevitable; and the Programme of the Russian Communist Party definitely states that we are taking only the first steps in the transition from capitalism to socialism. Hence, the Communist Party, the Soviet government and the trade unions must frankly admit the existence of an economic struggle and its inevitability until the electrification of industry and agriculture is completed—at least in the main—and until small production and the supremacy of the market are thereby cut off at the roots."*

Trade unions are all about "contact with the masses" and therefore cannot be sectarian:

*"Under no circumstances must trade union members be required to subscribe to any specific political views; in this respect, as well as in respect of religion, the trade unions must be non-partisan."*

The interest of the working class is "developmental" in a material sense, namely an "enormous increase in the productive forces". Lenin puts it like this:

*"Following its seizure of political power, the principal and fundamental interest of the proletariat lies in securing an enormous increase in the productive forces of society and in the output of manufactured goods."*

Lenin concludes:

*"The Communist Party, the Soviet bodies that conduct cultural and educational activities and all Communist members of trade unions must therefore devote far more attention to the ideological struggle against petty-bourgeois influences, trends and deviations among the trade unions, especially because the New Economic Policy is bound to lead to a certain strengthening of capitalism. It is urgently necessary to counteract this by intensifying the struggle against petty-bourgeois influences upon the working class."*

A NEP-like situation, or developmental state, which South Africa now has, involves a deliberate transitional expansion of the petty-bourgeoisie, and therefore also requires a constant struggle to maintain a "superstructure" over this petty-bourgeoisie. Such is the lesson of Lenin in this case.

The formation and the growth of the proletariat will in due course become determinant, because class struggle is the motor of history, and because the proletariat is the gravedigger of capitalism. But in the mean time, the bourgeoisie and the petty bourgeoisie must continue with their historical role of creating employment and by doing so, creating the bigger, and finally overwhelmingly massive and politicised proletariat.

- **The above is to introduce the original reading-texts: [Role and Functions of the TUs under NEP, Lenin, 1921](#).**
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Sao Paulo, Brazil

## Development is Class Struggle

David Moore's article (attached; download linked below) "The Brutal Side of Capitalist Development" appeared in the now-defunct Johannesburg newspaper "ThisDay" in 2004, as an "op-ed" feature.

At the time, at the height of the Mbeki Presidency, the article was remarkable in the mainstream South African media for being frank about the class struggle. Most of such material one would read at that time, in the depths of the 1996 Class Project years, was of the one-eyed "Development Studies" variety.

Moore only had to say how dull and derivative all this other material had been, to win the case unarguably.

The dispute between "neo-liberal GEARs and social-welfarist RDPs" is a sterile one, he says. Like a new broom, Moore swept away all the "happy synergistic tales", while reminding people of "capitalism's brutal genesis" and also its saving grace, the "vibrantly emerging working classes."

The document is a nice, short read, though packed with hints and pointers. Now in 2014, nine years later, there is continuing talk of a "developmental state" and perhaps an implied assumption that what we already have is that very "developmental state". Yet the diverse origins of "developmentalism" have hardly been re-examined. Hence the other, longer documents that will be introduced this

week, for the sake of completeness. But this article of David Moore's will be more than adequate as a discussion text.

"The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles" wrote Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in the Communist Manifesto of 1848, meaning that the entire historical development of humanity had been driven by the dynamic of class struggle. It still is being driven by class struggle.

- The above is to introduce the original reading-text: [The Brutal Side of Capitalist Development, Moore](#).
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## Development, Part 7a



# Europe Underdeveloped Africa

*"Colonialism had only one hand - it was a one-armed bandit."*

So as not to forget that the National Democratic Revolution, as well as the contested concept of "Development", arose from the anti-colonial and then anti-neo-colonial struggles, it is worth reading some of the late [Walter Rodney's](#) words. Linked below is Chapter 6 from Rodney's 1973 book "[How Europe Underdeveloped Africa](#)", written while Rodney was a lecturer at the University of Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania. The first paragraph corresponds nicely with Moore's article (used yesterday), denying

*“...that ‘after all there must be two sides to a thing’. The argument suggests that, on the one hand, there was exploitation and oppression, but, on the other hand, colonial governments did much for the benefit of Africans and they developed Africa. It is our contention that this is completely false. Colonialism had only one hand - **it was a one-armed bandit.**”*

On a personal note, this VC of yours is one who attended, with my parents, aged 12, the opening of Embakasi Airport in Nairobi, mentioned on page 4 of this Walter Rodney text as “the world's first handmade international airport”. I can tell you that Embakasi on the face of it appeared at that moment to be a perfect, and dazzling, advertisement for modernity. This contrast of reality and appearance was typical of colonialism.

There is too much reading here for a normal CU study group (but Moore’s newspaper article is suitably short and pointed). Part of the reason for including it is that [this series](#), together with the material from the [NDR series](#), and the [State and Revolution series](#), were conceived of all together in 2009 as a virtual “SACP Special Congress Reader”. We hope to include some of the SACP’s documents in the concluding parts of this course.

Rodney divided this crucial chapter of his book into four parts, which are:

**6.1 The Supposed Benefits of Colonialism to Africa**

**6.2 Negative character of the social, political and economic consequences**

**6.3 Education for Underdevelopment**

**6.4 Development by Contradiction.**

Reading this document again reminds one of many things about the recent colonial past that are already being forgotten, even while they are being reproduced in new ways. Rodney is especially valuable because he wrote from the other side of the apartheid “front line” but was very well aware of the inter-dependence of all colonialism, whether of a “special type” or not, and also of neo-colonialism.

Walter Rodney belongs in the company of the greats like Frantz Fanon and Amilcar Cabral, whose work he knew and quoted.

**Image:** The late, immortal [Walter Rodney](#), assassinated by a bomb, in 1980.

- The above is to introduce the original reading-texts: [Colonialism as a System for Underdeveloping Africa, Walter Rodney](#).



[Jomo Kenyatta, 1894 - 1978](#)

## The Rise and Fall of Neo-Colonialism

Today's main item is Chapter 8 of Colin Leys' 1975 book "Underdevelopment in Kenya" (attached, and downloadable from the link below).

This book was researched in Kenya and published 2-3 years after Rodney's Dar-es-Salaam-written "How Europe Underdeveloped Africa".

"Underdevelopment in Kenya" is remarkable (like Engels' "Condition of the Working Class In England", for example) for being written in the right place at the right time, by a man who was able to see what he was looking at, know that it was something new and important, and describe it properly.

What Leys saw was not only post-colonial class formation, but also the beginnings, in 1975, of the "neo-liberal" and "Washington Consensus" policies that have cursed us ever since, but which now, at last, appear to be on their way out.



The fourth linked item of the week is a more deliberately scholarly essay by David Moore, as compared to the short newspaper article of his that we used two days ago, and written in the same year, 2004.

Moore's essay rehearses parts of the factual background of capitalist colonialism and reviews some of the works of the then-fashionable theorists, who now, eleven years later, seem out-of-date (which Walter Rodney, for example, or Lenin, will never be).

No doubt David Moore contributed to the demise of the theories that he described and criticised, thereby doing a good service to us all.

The two documents introduced above are together bigger than a normal post in this series. But both are valuable and both contribute substantially to this collection of material on development. Therefore they go out together, today, for the sake of maintaining a well-rounded archive, and for those who may wish to read them.

### **Images:**

Top: Photo of the then President of the Republic of Kenya Jomo Kenyatta posing in pseudo-traditional regalia prepared by former colonialists (Disclosure: I, your VC, was working for a different department in the company that made this regalia at the time);

Middle: photo of a bronze public statue of Kenyatta wearing the same phony theatrical robes, providing a long-term image of the neo-colonial mummeries for posterity.

- The above is to introduce the original reading-text: [Contradictions of Neo-Colonialism, Leys, 1875](#); [The Second Age of the Third World, Moore, 2004](#).
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## National Plan

The 40-page Green Paper on National Strategic Planning (**attached**) is a discussion document, but its release in September 2009 was followed by complaints. COSATU's General Secretary lambasted it. NEHAWU lambasted it because it was drafted and issued by the South African government, not the National Democratic Revolutionary Alliance. NEHAWU wrote:

*"It is a known fact that the need for a high level planning and the planning commission and other modalities towards the establishment of the developmental state were agreed upon at the Alliance summit in October 2008.*

*"NEHAWU therefore believes that it is only proper that the Green Paper should be considered in the impending Alliance summit and that this should take place prior to further processes in parliament and government."*

One of this Green Paper's merits was that it made a strong case for regular central planning on three "time horizons": 1-year Programmes of Action, 5-year Medium Term "Frameworks" corresponding to a maximum term of office between elections; and Long-Term, plus/minus 15-year, "Visions".

It makes this case in common-sense or bourgeois-bureaucratic terms, but it does not compromise with neo-liberal *laissez-faire* (French for "leave alone"). With this Green Paper, the necessity for planning (*dirigisme* or "steering" in French) became orthodoxy in South Africa.



## **The first National Strategic Planning Green Paper**

This first Planning Green Paper was not itself a plan. It committed the Minister to produce the first national plan within a year (it actually took more than two years). It laid down the process by which the planning would be done – centrally, of course, but transparently, and not secretly or pre-emptively.

The major de-merit of the Green Paper from a communist point of view is shown by its frequent mention of something resembling an imaginary table of weaknesses and problems. In this list of weaknesses you find women, children, the disabled and the old, and those with low “social status”- meaning the working class.

Race, gender and lack of education are mentioned in the Green Paper, but never “class”, or the “working class”. Instead, where race is mentioned you get more (balancing?) remarks about low “social status”, as if being working class and/or black is a disability or a disease that needs to be palliated, treated or cured.

The class struggle may be the engine of history, the Green Paper seems to imply, but it can't be considered in plans. The plans imagined in the Green Paper will be curative courses of treatment for ills. If this approach remains unchanged, then the strategic plans produced by the process described are bound to fall far short of what is necessary.

### **Class formation**

The historical measure of change and of progress is the rate of class formation. The basis of Chinese revolutionary planning success in the last sixty years, for example, has been their constant attention to class formation. Even their few, now-long-past failures were a consequence of the same, correct, focus.

None of the goods, whether public or private, that the planning process is designed to maximise will be secure unless there is a steady and eventually overwhelming growth of the working class. By treating the working class as a “social status” problem, the Green Paper has the whole matter upside down, and will fail, if it does not get corrected.

Without any positive class orientation, the planning process as outlined in the Green Paper will default back to conservative bourgeois utilitarianism. The determination towards planning that the Green Paper represents is a great leap forward, but it will come to nothing if the planning process is not infused with revolutionary class-consciousness. This is a job for the communists.

There is a great deal inside the Green Paper about protocol and government etiquette. Whether these things are really crucial will become apparent. We now have the “IPAP2” and the “New Growth Path” (NGP). How these other two planning exercises will correspond with the eventual National Plan is something we will have to wait to see.

Our graphic, above, representing communist planning, is the symbol of the former German Democratic Republic, which was in its time a good friend to South Africa.

In the next post we will contrast and compare the revised and much shorter Green Paper that arrived in January, 2010 and was executed. The commissioners were appointed on 30 April 2010. Their first effort was the “Diagnostic”, in June 2011, which as foreseen (in 2010) by the Communist University, proceeded to list various ills that were to be cured. The National Development Plan was published on the 11<sup>th</sup> of November, 2011 and was endorsed by the ANC just over a year later, at its 53<sup>rd</sup> National Conference in December, 2012.

- **The above is to introduce the original reading-texts: [SA Government Green Paper on National Strategic Planning, 2009](#).**
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[GOELRO Plan](#)

## Green Paper Revised

The Revised Green Paper on the National Planning Commission of January 2010 (**attached**) resolves the question of authority as follows:

*“Cabinet would be ultimately responsible for adopting a national vision and strategic plan. A clear understanding of how government works as well as independent input that clearly articulates the aspirations of ordinary South Africans are two essential ingredients of this national vision and strategic plan.”*

The document is brief and concerns itself with some definitions. In conclusion it says:

*“The Revised Green Paper: National Planning Commission is thus now published in the Gazette, proclaiming the establishment of the Commission **and inviting nominations.**”*

The nominations from the public were many and rumoured to be in the thousands, but the names of neither the nominees nor any intermediate shortlist were published, but only (on 30 April 2010) the list of 24 appointed Commissioners, who were:

Bobby Godsell	Mariam Altman	Joel Netshitenzhe	Jerry Coovadia
Elias Masilela	Chris Malikane	Anton Eberhard	Karl von Holdt
Jerry Vilakazi	Vivienne Taylor	Bridgette Gasa	Mohammed Karaan
Noluthando Gosa	Marcus Balintulo	Thandabantu Goba	Tasneem Essop
Jennifer Molwantwa	Vuyokazi Mahlati	Phillip Harrison	Pascal Moloi
Mike Muller	Malekgapuru Makgoba	Ihron Rensburg	Vincent Maphai

Next, we will look at the IPAP2 document.

**Image:** [GOELRO Plan](#) (Electrification of the Soviet Union) as imagined by artist Pavel Filonov, (1883-1941). The GOELRO Plan was published in 1920 and completed by 1931.

**What Lenin wrote:** Communism = Soviet power + electrification

- The above is to introduce the original reading-text: [National Planning Commission Revised Green Paper 2010](#).
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## Industrial Policy Action Plan

On 18 February 2010 South Africa's Minister of Trade and Industry Rob Davies introduced "IPAP2" in a speech to the National Assembly, attached here in the form of a 4-page document (download linked below). Introducing the Plan, he wrote:

*"As a country, South Africa has no alternative to the course of action we propose. Manufacturing and other productive sectors of the economy are the engines of long-term sustainable growth and job creation in developing countries such as our own."*

The full 2010/11 – 2012/13 Industrial Policy Action Plan (4-part PDF) is [here](#) (click):

This is the Industrial Policy document that Polokwane promised, and it has since been produced in updated versions, which would be available from the DTI.

Towards the end of the introductory document Dr Davies writes

*"It is estimated that the IPAP will result in the creation of 2 477 000 direct and indirect decent jobs over the next ten years. It will diversify and grow exports, improve the trade balance, build long term industrial capability, grow our domestic technology and catalyse skills development."*

This is the kind of good work that puts empirical meaning into the term "developmental state".

**Image:** Dr Rob Davies. Cde Davies is also a member of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party.

- The above is to introduce the original reading-text: [National Assembly Statement on IPAP2 by Dr Rob Davies, 2010](#).



[Ebrahim Patel](#)

## The New Growth Path

On 23 November 2010 South Africa's Minister of Economic Development, Ebrahim Patel, introduced **"The New Growth Path"** (NGP). His **four-page introduction** is **attached**.

Minister of Trade and Industry Rob Davies had issued the 2010/11 – 2012/13 **"Industrial Policy Action Plan"** ("IPAP2") earlier in the same year (18 February 2010), as we noted yesterday.

On 30 April 2010 the 24 members of the National Planning Commission were appointed, with an expectation that they would work publicly and transparently to produce a 25-year **National Strategic Plan** and/or a 5-year **Medium Term Strategic Framework** within one year, with subsequent annual updates.

The last to publish their projections was the National Planning Commission, not counting the two earlier (and quite instructive) Green Papers published by the National Planning Minister and Commission Chair, Trevor Manuel, which have already been sent out in this part. We will return to the National Development Plan in the next part of the course.

The Soviet Union's "GOELRO" plan is the grandfather of all such plans. Here is an image of it, with a link to further reading about it:





GOELRO Plan document, 1920

The struggle continues.

**Image:** [Ebrahim Patel](#); [GOELRO Plan](#) document, 1920.

- The above is to introduce the original reading-text: [The New Growth Path Framework, 2010](#).

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## Development, Part 9



## Mineral-Energy Complex

South Africa's largest centres of material production are in minerals and energy, and these two "sectors" are highly interdependent. For example the mineral, coal, is the mainstay of the electricity-generating industry of the country, while electric energy is in turn indispensable to the gold, platinum and other mines.

No question of "development", in the material sense, in South Africa can be properly addressed without reference to the mineral-energy complex.

The SACP's discussion document "Expanding Democratic Public Control over the Mining Sector" (**attached**) therefore has implications beyond the mining sector, and beyond the energy sector. This document is a window on the way that development - the dialectical, dynamic, unity-and-struggle-of-opposites otherwise called the class struggle, and its relationship with the state, are playing out before our eyes.

It is a remarkable document. Not only is it a theoretical masterpiece, helping us to see clearly what is what and who is who, but it also stands comparison with the best of journalism, because it illuminates the South African situation so well, as a narrative.

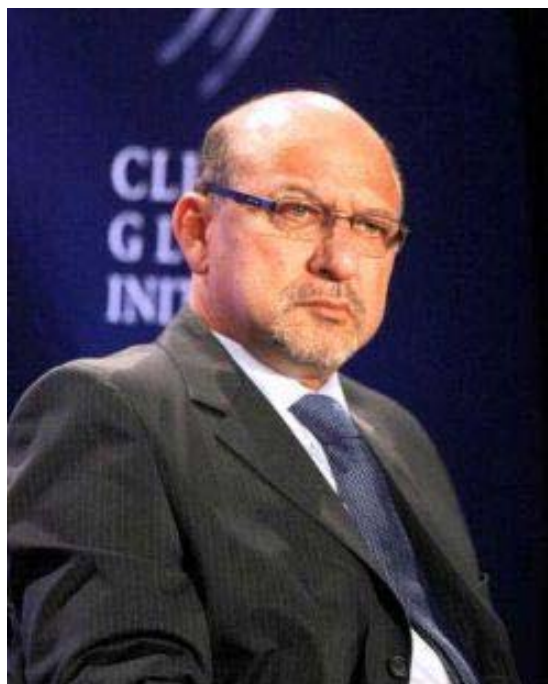
One of the quotations given in the document is from Frederick Engels, on nationalisation, as follows:

*"the transformation...into state property, does not do away with the capitalistic nature of the productive forces... The more it [the bourgeois state] proceeds to the taking over of productive forces, the more does it actually become the national capitalist, the more citizens does it exploit. The workers remain wage-workers – proletarians. The capitalist relation is not done away with. It is rather brought to a head."* ([Engels, "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific", 1880](#)).

The workers in nationalised industries, including teachers, remain proletarians. They sell their labour-power for cash and they have constantly to renegotiate their pay and conditions with an employer who can be as ruthless as any other capitalist.

This is the second last week of the "Development" series. In the remainder of this part we will look at the South African National Planning Commission's draft National Development Plan.

- The above is to introduce the original reading-text: [Expanding Democratic Public Control over the Mining Sector](#).
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Trevor Manuel

## *The National Planning Commission:*

# Draft National Development Plan

The South African National Planning Commission (NPC) handed over its draft National Development Plan (NDP) to the President of the Republic, Jacob Gedleyihlekisa Zuma, on **11 November 2011**.

This post, now adapted, was added to the CU “Development” course during its previous iteration [on “CU-Africa” on 10 March 2012](#). Abridged, this post can still serve the instructive purpose of introducing the NDP process, as well as introducing one chapter of the draft, namely Chapter 3 on Economy and Employment (November 2011 draft).

On 15 August 2013 the actual plan came out, called “*Plan 2030: Our future - make it work*”. Links are given below to the new document. But we will continue to refer to the draft for this item, this time, so as to retain the points of discussion as they arose in time. In any case, the NDP is still being revised, and it will continue to be revised.

Our purpose is to observe the thinking that informed the process. We note that the November 2011 draft closely followed the format of the July 2011 “Diagnostic” document.

In the three-page “[popular plan](#)” version of the NDP draft, the NPC stated that after a three-month consultation period (November 2011 to February 2012) the plan was to be turned into reality. This did not happen. Nor is it ever likely to happen in this literal sense, because what we posted on the CU-Africa in 2012 has turned out to be true: This was never an executable plan. Here follows more of what we wrote then:

The NDP is apolitical and a-historical. It makes no reference to the Freedom Charter or to the National Democratic Revolution. It does not mention the world’s first-ever National Plan – Lenin’s tremendous [GOELRO Plan](#), adopted by revolutionary Russia in 1920. Nor does the NDP make any critical comment on the political philosophy of development. Searches of the entire NPC web site, including the 444 pages of the plan, for the words “Lenin”, “Socialism”, “Dialectic”, “Slovo” or “Mao” return nil results. The term “Capital”, on the other hand, returns 130 results. Try it yourself. Google for “[*selected term*]” site:[www.npconline.co.za](http://www.npconline.co.za).

Instead of doing what we have done in our CU course on Development, the draft NDP applies the logic of “therapy to victim” (T2V).

### **NDP not dialectical**

Which means that problems, or sicknesses, are “diagnosed” in terms of received wisdom, or “common sense”. Of course, the solutions for those problems are predetermined by the definition of the problems/sicknesses that the “diagnosis” selects, or invents.

Subsequent progress is imagined as inevitably gradual, incremental or marginal, and not as dialectical, or revolutionary.

The product of this kind of reasoning is eclectic, and it refuses to take on board any acknowledged, as opposed to tacit, “meta-narrative”. In other words, it refuses overt politics. It just sees South Africa as sick, and it sees itself, the National Planning Commission, as South Africa’s technocratic healer. It sees SA as being under doctor’s orders, with the NPC in the role of bossy doctor.

The result of this “T2V” can only possibly be a “best practice”; that is, a cleaned-up, marginally-improved version of the *status quo*. It cannot possibly be a revolutionary break. Unlike the National Democratic Revolution, the NDP is not even a preparation for revolutionary, qualitative change

## National Development Plan Downloadable

*“On 15th August 2012, the revised National Development Plan 2030 entitled, “Our future-make it work” was handed to the President at a special joint sitting of Parliament. All political parties represented in Parliament expressed support for the NDP.” – NPC web site*

Here are some links:

- NDP downloadable from <http://www.npconline.co.za/pebble.asp?relid=25>
- SACP’s May Day message, 2013 is at:  
<http://www.sacp.org.za/main.php?ID=3963>
- SACP discussion document (click for link): “[Let’s not monumentalise the NDP](#)” (May 2013)

### The National Development Plan in chapters:

[NDP 2030-Prelims - \(370 KB\)](#)

[NDP 2030-Vision Statement - \(47.2 KB\)](#)

[NDP 2030-Overview - \(1.6 MB\)](#)

[NDP 2030-Summary of objectives and actions - \(76.9 KB\)](#)

[NDP 2030-CH1-Policy making in a complex environment - \(1.2 MB\)](#)

[NDP 2030-CH2-Demographic trends - \(663 KB\)](#)

[NDP 2030-CH3-Economy and employment - \(2.1 MB\)](#)

[NDP 2030-CH4-Economic infrastructure - \(713 KB\)](#)

[NDP 2030-CH5-Environmental sustainability - \(630 KB\)](#)

[NDP 2030-CH6-An integrated and inclusive rural economy - \(1 MB\)](#)

[NDP 2030-CH7-Positioning South Africa in the world - \(475 KB\)](#)

[NDP 2030-CH8-Transforming human settlements - \(1.5 MB\)](#)

[NDP 2030-CH9-Improving education, training and innovation - \(613 KB\)](#)

[NDP 2030-CH10-Promoting health - \(2.5 MB\)](#)

[NDP 2030-CH11-Social protection - \(743 KB\)](#)

[NDP 2030-CH12-Building safer communities - \(505 KB\)](#)

[NDP 2030-CH13-Building a capable and developmental state - \(415 KB\)](#)

[NDP 2030-CH14-Fighting corruption - \(296 KB\)](#)

[NDP 2030-CH15-Transforming society and uniting the country - \(1.4 MB\)](#)

[NDP 2030-Addendum-A conversation with South Africans - \(226 KB\)](#)

## The Plan (NDP 2030):

[Executive Summary - NDP 2030 - Our future - make it work - \(4.93 MB\)](#)

[NDP 2030 - Our future - make it work - \(16.7 MB\)](#)

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### *Chapter 3 on Economy and Employment*

Herewith, **attached**, is the National Development Plan draft Chapter 3 on Economy and Employment.

The chapter begins:

*“Achieving full employment, decent work and sustainable livelihoods is the only way to improve living standards and ensure a dignified existence for all South Africans.*

*“This will be achieved by expanding the economy to absorb labour*

*“We can reduce the unemployment rate to 6 percent by 2030.”*

The National Development Plan is a gradualist plan, and not a revolutionary plan. It works from the unspoken assumption that what we have would be good enough, if only it was improved. In this chapter, 2030 looks very much like 2012, only with some of the bad bits made a bit better.

The chapter begins with some projections and some generalities. After page 7, it goes into “Employment scenarios”. This is so-called scenario planning, which is a kind of dreaming. Is that bad? You be the judge.



Then the chapter proceeds to “challenges”.

Thereafter, from pages 15 to 45 the document is mainly prophecy, or declaration. Sentences are written as “need to be”, “would be” and “will be”, without much sense of difference between these. It is not altogether clear whether this is a guide or a model, or an intended set of laws.

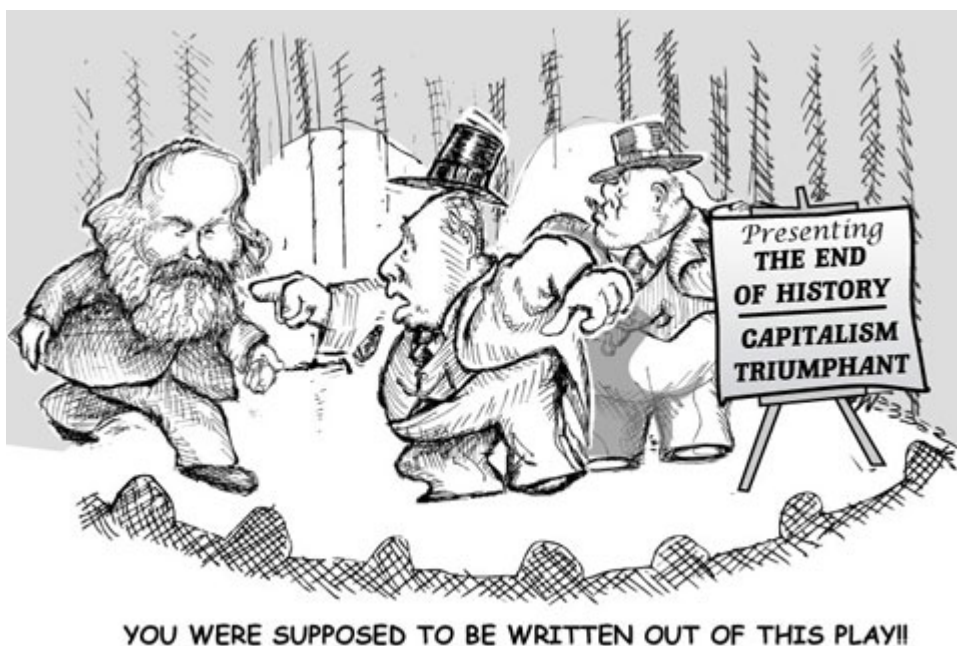
There is a Conclusion on the last three pages (49-48).

Is this chapter from the NDP on employment, just a wish-list? You be the judge.

And if it is a wish-list, is that bad?

Yes, it would be bad, if the wish-list is taken as a plan, because a wish is something less than a plan.

- **The above is to introduce the original reading-text: [National Plan, C3, Economy and Employment – extracts](#).**
-



## *The National Planning Commission:*

### Draft National Development Plan

## Chapter 9 on Education

This course is still a study in Development. It is not a running commentary on the NDP's progress. The writing below is an edited version of the previous iteration of this course. It refers to the NDP draft of mid-2011, and the attached document is an extract from Chapter 9 of the draft, called in full "Improving Education, Training and Innovation".

The current version of the full Education chapter (613 KB) can be downloaded [by clicking here](#).

As with most, but not all, of the other chapters of the NDP draft, this one was practically impossible to summarise, because it was an eclectic mixture of points pulled out of the thin air of bourgeois common sense.

It had no organic integrity, let alone any sense of a unity-and-struggle-of-opposites that would drive education forward in a way that corresponds to the dialectical nature of human history. This chapter exposes the National Planning Commission's lack of a founding concept of humanistic development. The NPC appeared to be

trapped within bourgeois utilitarianism, which is only a little better than bourgeois post-modernism.

This document was of the “end of history” variety. It anticipated no qualitative change, but sought only relative improvement. As well as having no revolutionary perspective, it is unable to anticipate the inevitable periodic “crises”, or even to take into account the one that we already have, the so-called “meltdown” that still continues to get worse and more threatening.

Not being historical, and so being trapped in its time, the document became a barely-disguised intervention in current attacks by the DA on SADTU. The National Planning Commission had lazily assumed that the projection until 2030 is doomed to stay within the narrow concerns of the mostly-white constituency, represented by Helen Zille and her cohorts.

SADTU issued a statement on 13 November 2012, taking issue with a number of the many bullet-points in the NDP draft. Here are three of SADTU’s responses:

**Political and union interference in appointments:** SADTU’s role is that of ensuring that proper processes are followed in the appointment/promotion of teachers and district officials. The recommendation should deal with those responsible for employment such as the SGB and the District office to perform their duties in the best interest of our country and not to allow improper influence.

**Increase teacher training by Funza Lushaka bursaries:** While we welcome the bursaries, we maintain that we don’t believe that the universities have the capacity to train the number of teachers needed. Our universities have abandoned research in favour of making profits. We therefore reiterate our call for the re-opening of teacher colleges to have focused and dedicated training.

**Regular testing of teachers:** The regular testing of teachers in subjects they teach is an insult to teachers. Instead, teachers should undergo regular refresher courses on the subjects they teach. The recommendation is based on preconceived ideas and not on the reality faced by teachers. This will add to the low morale the teachers are already suffering from because the policies are de-professionalizing teaching.

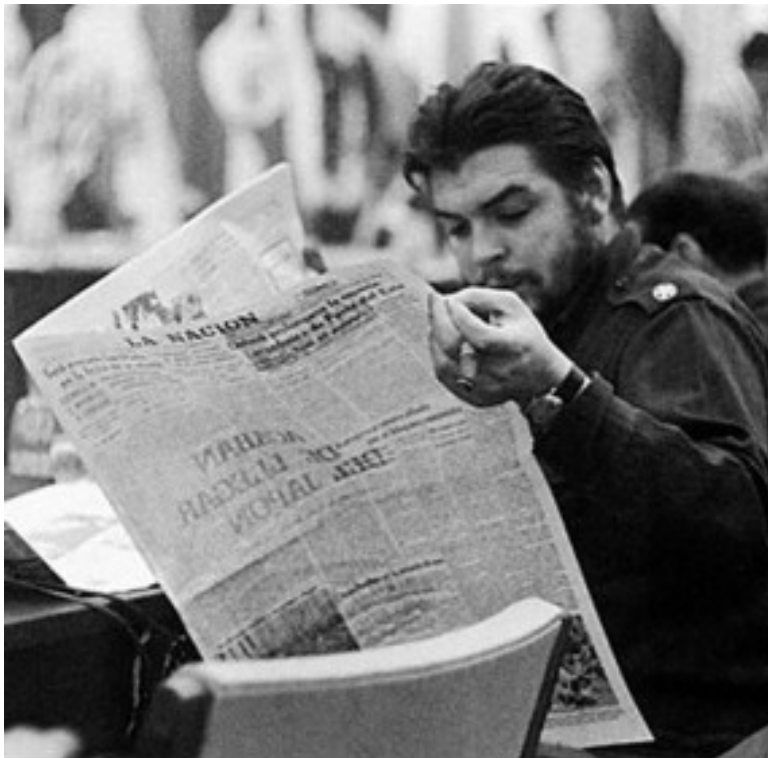
The National Planning Commission was not assembled on the basis of any common theoretical understanding. Clearly, it failed to build such an understanding. Perhaps

it never attempted to do so. Consequently, it only managed to descend to its lowest common denominator, made up of *ad hoc* common sense and the fashionable ideas of the day. In the case of Education, this means that the National Development Plan is just about as "uneducated" as it could be.

In the next instalment, on Health, we will see that the situation was not quite the same, because the prevailing ideas are much more theoretically well developed. On Health, the NPC soaked up some good material and was able to use it in the NDP.

- The above is to introduce the original reading-text: [National Plan, C9, Education - extract](#).
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## Development, Part 9c



Revolutionary Doctor, Mass Communication

*The National Planning Commission: Draft National Development Plan*

# NDP Chapter 10 on Health

**Attached** is a PDF file, formatted for printing as an A5 booklet, made up of extracts from Chapter 10, Promoting Health, from the draft National Development plan. It has been formatted in this way for use as a short discussion text in the

"Development" course of the Communist University.

This NDP chapter on Health seems to be more concrete (in the Hegelian and Marxist sense) than other chapters we have looked at from the NDP. The parts of this chapter make up an organic whole. It appears to be more of a plan and less of a wish-list.

This may be because of the considerable amount of serious research that has been done in government, in the ANC, in the SACP, and by unions such as NEHAWU, with a view to creating a National Health Insurance scheme, to which the ANC is committed, as is the current minister of Health, Cde Aaron Motsoaledi.

This post is an edited version of the previous iteration, and is still a discussion of the draft.

The full chapter in the published (not draft) NDP, 2.5 MB in size, can be downloaded by clicking [here](#).

### **The NDP, Overall**

What did the National Development Plan drafting process achieve, overall? It is not revolutionary and it can barely be called “progressive”. It is incremental and gradualist. It is a linear extrapolation from the present, and it is not a dialectical or concrete conception. In that way, we can say that it is not even scientific.

But South Africa’s draft National Development Plan is at least an attempt to look forward. So to that extent it represents a rejection of *laissez-faire* (let-it-be), and it embraces *dirigisme* (steering, or “intervention”). For this much, and it is not a small thing, we should be grateful.

The NPC had an advantageous position within the Presidency, and it had the presumed support of its 26 members, who were prominent people in many walks of life. But the NPC had no big battalions. It also lacked the practice of public dialogue, which deficiency was apparent when it tried to communicate. So it was never likely to be able to do very much more than what it did; and in 2015, it was stood down. In 2015, we continue to await its replacement, which the SACP has said should be a permanent planning commission.

“Policy” will in practice be driven by the kind of action that NEHAWU and other agents have undertaken over the years, which produced the body of thought in the field of health that the NPC was obliged to take into consideration. The NPC then acted as an aggregator, and not as an initiator; and this may be how things will

proceed all around, i.e. that the NPC, or its future equivalent, will endorse and sanctify initiatives that come from outside of itself. These include the Industrial Policy Action Plan, The New Growth Path, and the Infrastructure Development Plan, all initiated and led by the ANC government.

Thus, the living democracy of the mass democratic movement, within the framework of the National Democratic Revolution, will continue to have priority in determining the country's future.

### **Initiative is Dialogue?**

The leaders of the NPC were not very good communicators. The documents that they sent out were extremely difficult to handle, and continued to be difficult to handle even after many complaints.

Their attempts to communicate using innovative (so-called "social") media did not take them towards dialogue, but towards proselytising and indoctrination.

In the world of popular communications, the NPC was unable to improve on the patronising, condescending tone of "tips for Trevor".

Whereas the ANC's Policy Conference, for example, is the apex of a dialogic pyramid that goes, via ANC branches and sub-Branches, all the way down to localities all over the country; while on the other side it has a majority in parliament and a firm hold on the executive government.

The ANC is closely linked to other dialogical agents, including the SACP, and with other trade unions apart from NEHAWU and SADTU, which we have already mentioned.

This combined alliance mechanism can, and does, produce real dialogue, and it is incomparably larger than any other organised public mass in South Africa. It is by itself a medium of mass communication, and a larger one by far than any other in the country.

- **The above is to introduce the original reading-text: [National Plan, C10, Promoting Health – extract](#).**
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## The Party Goes Local

The final part of this course on Development is concerned with the building of the mass collective Subject of History, starting with the main conscious agent of such process of organisation, the communist party; in this case, the South African Communist Party, the SACP.

The SACP is still in the process of converting its branches to “Voting District” branches. The SACP is also determined to achieve a **500 000 membership**, or roughly one per cent of the South African population.

Urban Voting Districts in South Africa contain some 3,000 voters on average located within a radius of some 7,5 km of each Voting District’s single voting station. Rural Voting Districts accommodate some 1,200 voters located within a radius of some 10 km of the voting station. There are normally several, often five or six, Voting Districts in each electoral ward.

SACP Party Branches are supposed to have a minimum of **25 members** according to its Constitution, which has not changed. The same rules apply to the new situation.

The next item in this last part of the Development Series will focus on the **ANC’s** Imvuselelo Campaign, and the third and final instalment will focus on **SADTU’s** recruitment, which in turn is in parallel with recruitment by other trade unions within and outside of **COSATU**, our federation, and with other mass organisations.

### Localisation of the Alliance

What are the implications of all this recruitment? What qualitative changes may arise from the envisaged quantitative increase?



The National Democratic Revolutionary Alliance has been called “tripartite”, referring to **the SACP** - the vanguard party of the working class, **the ANC** – the mass, class-alliance, unity-in-action liberation movement, and **COSATU**, the federation of mass industrial trade unions. But in addition to these, the historic “civic” movement **SANCO** has a status as the fourth member of the Alliance. If there was a free-standing Women’s Movement, it could serve as the fifth independent Alliance partner.

The qualitative change which can be expected if the SACP succeeds in creating a substantial number of branches at Voting District level, and if the ANC is able to consolidate its 100-member-plus-per-ward branch structure, and if the local structures of the Trade Union movement can become similarly well-defined, is that the **localisation of the Alliance** will become a practical possibility.

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**New:**

*Voting District structures established by the ANC in 2014 / 2015:*

### **Establishment of Sub-branch Coordinating Teams (SBCTs)**

The BEC must establish sub-branch structures equal to the number of voting districts (VDs) in the ward. The structures so established shall be called Sub-Branch Coordinating Teams (SBCTs) because they do not have executive powers as they are coordinating structures.

The SBCT shall be responsible for the following;

- Establishment and maintenance/servicing of Street Coordinators in the VD
- Establishment and maintenance/servicing of Political Education Study Circles in the VD
- Coordinating of membership recruitment, growth and maintenance in the VD. This includes membership of the Leagues and MKMVA

- Identifying problems in the community in the VD, proposing and coordinating solutions to such problems
- Dissemination of information to ANC members in the VD

The members of the SBCT are appointed by the BEC, not elected at a meeting of members convened at VD level.

The BEC must appoint the following seven members of the SBCTs.

- Convener of SBCT, to act as the chairperson and facilitator
- Coordinator of SBCT, to act as the secretary
- Member responsible for membership recruitment and coordination
- Member responsible for political education
- Member responsible for campaigns
- Member responsible for coordination of issues on governance
- Member responsible for coordination of structures below the VD

The names of the members appointed in the SBCTs must be announced by the BEC at the BGM. This must be after consulting these individual members and their acceptance of the responsibility.

For many years past, sundry expressions of disappointment been heard saying that the Alliance does not function at local level. The main stumbling block to this local functioning of the Alliance was never a lack of intention but rather the lack of equivalent basic structures across the three main organisations. The SACP especially was apt to be patchy in terms of its coverage on the ground, with hardly any organisational correspondence to the ANC at branch level. SACP Districts have also hardly talked to ANC Regions or to COSATU locals. Only at Provincial and National levels have the three structures been equivalent across all three of the main Alliance organisations.

The coming increase in membership of the SACP and the ANC will mean that it will be possible to populate viable parallel structures all the way down to branch level. This in turn will open up the prospect of a renewed relevance for SANCO, which can be the locus of combination with other mass organisation, of women, of religious people, and more.

The implications for the possibility of conscious, all-round development of the country in the fullest sense are profound.

The attached document is a compilation of the Commission Report on Building a Strong SACP from a Conference of Commissars, and notes on forming Voting District Branches, including extracts from the SACP Constitution as it was prior to the 13<sup>th</sup> Congress. Please refer to the latest version of the constitution before acting.

- The above is to introduce the original reading-text: [Building a strong SACP, Forming a VD Branch](#).
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## Development, Part 10a



## Invuselelo Campaign

The SACP's call to "swell the ranks" of the ANC is **not** an attempt to gain a majority in the ANC and thereby to take it over. To do that would be counter-productive. The SACP does not need another clone of itself. The SACP needs the ANC to be the ANC: The expression of National Democratic Revolutionary class alliance, and of unity in action; in short, the SACP needs the ANC to be South Africa's liberation movement, because this is what South Africa needs.

The growth of the ANC is a tactical necessity for a South Africa that is still trying to realise its full freedom. This is the same reason that the SACP has been building the ANC since the 1920s, without any pause. At the beginning of their relationship the ANC was a much smaller organisation than the SACP.

The ANC complements the SACP and COSATU. No one of these three can replace or substitute for either of the others. None of them can do without the others. All three have to be grown, for the sake of all three.

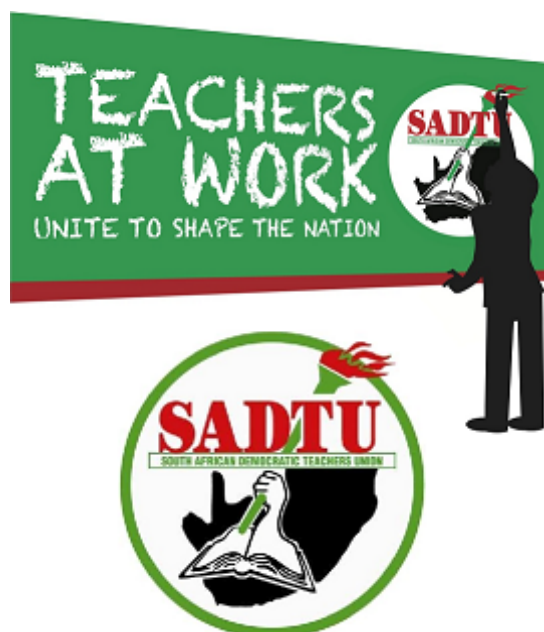
Now, while the SACP is aiming for half a million members, the ANC could reach 2 million within the current term of Jacob Zuma's Presidency. The organised trade union movement may altogether have three million members, with COSATU affiliates currently having about two-thirds of the total.

This growth of mass democratic formations is the working out of the National Democratic Revolution, which moves towards completion in proportion to the democratisation of the popular masses in various mass democratic structures, elaborated at different levels and throughout the country.

The ANC's expansion and extension plan is called the **Imvuselelo Campaign**. The attached and linked document is made up of part of an ANC statement re-launching the Imvuselelo Campaign on 12 August 2010, plus a link to the "**How to join the ANC**" pages on the ANC web site. Also attached is an ANC membership application form.

In the next item, which is also the last of this course, we will look at the role of Trade Unions and the actual and potential role of SADTU in particular.

- The above is to introduce the original reading-text: [ANC Imvuselelo Campaign and How to Join the ANC](#).
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## Building SADTU

Why SADTU, in this general course on development? In the first place, because after the ANC and the SACP, we need an example of a primary, subjective mass organisation so as to consider how the democracy of this country is being built, and can be further built, right across the board, and at every level from grassroots to national.

This is to conclude our course on development, because, firstly, true development, which is “the free development of each, and the condition for the free development of all”, is **human development**, and depends upon the development of democratic institutions. But also, **material development** at local level cannot proceed properly without democratic institutions to guide it.

For this purpose SADTU is as good an example as any other.

In addition one can also say that, in the context of building the National Democratic Revolutionary Alliance at local level, SADTU has a unique relevance because its sites are in every ward. SADTU has an unequalled opportunity to spearhead the integration of the COSATU federation into practical alliance with the SACP and the ANC at local level, because it is there.

Therefore the downloadable text related to this, the last item in the last part of our course on Development, Rural and Urban, is SADTU’s recruitment brochure, previously downloaded from the [SADTU web site](#).



Also from the SADTU web site is the following on Membership:

*“SADTU is a union proud of its history and confident of its future. The union is currently boasting a membership of 240,000 representing more than 2/3 of the teaching force in the country. It is an affiliate of COSATU, the biggest federation in South Africa. SADTU is a member of Education International (EI), the global union federation of organisations representing 30 million teachers and other education workers, through 394 member organisations in 171 countries and territories.”*

and the following on Joining SADTU:

*“Membership of SADTU is open to any person who is eligible for such membership [according to the SADTU constitution] and subscribes to its aims and objects. Persons can apply for full membership for those practicing as teachers or educationalist including those in auxiliary services, both formal and non-formal institutions of learning. Associate membership can be applied for by persons professionally admitted to the teaching profession but no longer practice as such and all persons who qualified as teachers and are yet not employed as such and student teachers.”*

The SADTU Constitution (37-Page, 439 KB, PDF) can be [downloaded here](#).

Mass organisations of every type are needed. In particular, South Africa needs a democratic, individual-membership mass organisation of women.

From the end of this week the CU political education forum will be carrying a ten-part course on the National Democratic Revolution.

- The above is to introduce the original reading-text: [SADTU Recruitment Booklet](#) and [SADTU Membership Application Form](#).
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Course: Development, Rural and Urban

**13002, Development, Rural and Urban, Introductions, Booklet 2 of 2**

9018 words